

1: Rosen

E-5

(1901-1902) 1924

SK6 Choroti SK6

ETHNOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH WORK

DURING THE SWEDISH CHACO-CORDILLERA-
EXPEDITION 1901-1902

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BY

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[Front cover]

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Fig. 8. Steppe with acacias. In foreground, watchful Choroti Indians. Tatarenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. F. v. R.

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Fig. 16. A man, in front of his hut. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 17. A man, with frontlet of birdskin. Choroti. Tatarenda camp. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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361 (material for roofing huts), the Indians are apt to build their villages in
 824 the proximity of some grove, or forest, of palms ('palmar'). As a case
 in instance, the Choroti village at Tatarenda was situated quite close to
 a palm grove, and not very far from a largish palm forest. It is of im-
 [262] portance that algaroba trees should be growing in the neighbourhood, as
 the fruit of this tree plays a prominent part in the food arrangements of
 these Indians.

342 The huts are of a very primitive character, and
 are built in the following manner; With a digging-
 stick (fig. 27) of hard, heavy wood, a succession of
 holes is dug, or jabbed, in the ground, so as to
 form a circle with a diameter of 2 metres or upwards.
 In each of these holes is planted an unlopped, bent-
 grown branch, thick end downwards, so that the tips
 of the branch point towards the centre of the circle.
 By this means a cupola-shaped frame is formed (fig.
 26). This frame is covered with a thick layer of
 palm leaves and grass (figs. 16, 25), unless palm
 leaves are difficult to obtain, when the hut will
 be covered with grass only, although huts thatched
 in this way have less rain resistance. But even the
 most carefully built Choroti huts are, however, poor
 enough dwellings which, in any heavy downpour of
 rain, are unable to keep those inside them from a
 wetting.

The huts have one, or even two, entrances, about one metre in height
 (figs. 16, 25), but huts of the largest size are sometimes provided with
 several entrances. A sort of porch, constructed of branches and grass,
 may occasionally be built out from the entrance. When several huts are
 close together, they may not unfrequently be connected with each other
 by means of covered passages, or tunnels, built similarly to the huts.

352 The latter do not contain many utensils. Ranged along the wall, bowls
 415 made of gourd shell, a few clay vessels and a wooden mortar, are gene-
 824 rally seen. In prettily knitted net bags of spun caraguata fibre,¹ the
 Choroti keep all manner of small articles, such as mussel-shell spoons,



Fig. 18. A man holding a pestle in his hands. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

¹ Caraguata, or chahuar (chaguar), *Bromelia serra*, is, as I have already pointed out, especially common in the Chaco.

wooden sticks for fire-drilling, toilet articles, magic rattles, etc.

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352 wooden sticks for fire-drilling, toilet articles, magic rattles etc. Contrary
 [513] to the Chiriguano, the Choroti do not use bedsteads or hammocks, but sleep on the ground, with only an animal skin, or a woollen mantle between themselves and the ground.

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Fig. 19. A man, with his daughters. Choroti. From the dry soil forest region between Caiza and Crevaux. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

343 At the cooking-fires in front of the huts, the Choroti now and then
 251 erect square sheds, with flat, grass-covered roofs. These sheds are constructed like food-storing racks (fig. 28), and are used both as a protection from the sun and as sleeping places during hot nights. According to Nordenskiöld, the Indians on the Pilcomayo use the roofs of these sheds for drying fish on.¹ I am of opinion that these sheds, originally, were only designed for the storing, drying, smoking or roasting of fish, and that, therefore, their use as shade-givers or sleeping-shelters is only

¹ Nordenskiöld (18), p. 36.

[text continues on p. 47]



Fig. 21. A young woman suckling her baby. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo, E. v. R.

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Fig. 20. A girl, Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo, E. v. R.

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Fig. 23. A boy and a girl (probably about 7 and 8 years old). Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 22. A woman, with infant. Note that the woman's earlobes are pierced, but that she is wearing no ear-lobe discs. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 24. A boy and a girl (age probably about 10). The boy is wearing a frontlet and armlets, made from palm leaves. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.



Fig. 30. Men and women. Back row (8 individuals): men and youths. Front row (4 individuals): women. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

CHAPTER II.

The Choroti (2). Dress and ornaments.

Men's dress. Garments of protection against arrows, fish-bites and thorny plants. Hair-dressing. Frontlets. Hair-nets. Head ornaments of feathers, etc. Ear-lobe discs. The ear-boring custom. Necklaces. Armlets. Anklets. Finger rings. Dress and ornaments of the women. Tattooing. Painting of the face. Cutting the hair short. Pulling out of hairs. Toilet articles and their receptacles. Lack of cleanliness. Phthiophagy.

- 291 On account of the warm climate of the Chaco, the Choroti do not require much in the way of dress. The smaller children are always completely naked (fig. 23), and when the men are engaged in any harder kind of work, they then usually only wear a woollen apron, passed between the legs and fastened in front and behind to a string made of caraguatá fibre or wool, tied round the waist (figs. 16, 18 and 30). Occasionally they fasten pieces of cloth, of different sizes, round the waist without tucking them between the legs (fig. 30). I have also seen Choroti men wearing broad, fringed, leather belts (fig. 31), but these skirt-like garments seemed to be of rather rare

3. — v. Rosen. II.

[p. 49]

291 occurrence. I was, however, told that, in olden days they were in general use among the men. Fringed leather belts of the same kind as the one here shown, are still common among the Lengua in the eastern Chaco.¹ Belts and girdles are fastened round the waist by means of a thin leather strap, passed through, and tied to, two holes at one end of the belt. The two free ends of the strap are threaded through two corresponding holes in the other end of the belt (see fig. 31); are tightened up as required, and tied. In the same way the Choroti fasten their fringe-less leather belts (fig. 171), which are usually made of white oxhide, and serve

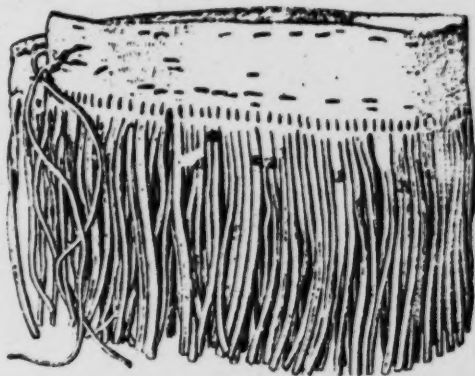


Fig. 31. Fringed leather belt. Mountings of tinplate decorating some of the fringes. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 2/s. Riksm. 03-3. 8.

to secure mantles and skirts round the waist (see fig. 30: the man farthest to the left). The Choroti also wear broad, fringe-less belts of oxhide as a protection for the stomach from arrow shots.²

Very common garments are large woollen mantles, which the men either wrap round the waist (figs. 17, 30, the two men on either flank), or drape over the shoulders (fig.

237] 32). The Choroti women weave these mantles of the wool from the flocks of sheep that the tribe owns in the interior of the Chaco. The mantles are usually in two colours, and woven with groups of stripes. I have reproduced, in fig. 33, a corner of a Choroti man's mantle, the size of the mantle being 204 by 183 cm. The fabric, so-called rep, consists of two-thread, tightly spun yarn of a greyish white (the natural colour of the wool) and reddish brown; the warp is rounded, so that the weaving is selvedged all round. The woof is red. The ground colour of the mantle is brownish red, and there are six groups of greyish white stripes running with the length of the mantle. Each group of stripes consists of one broad, greyish white stripe, with two thinner stripes of

¹ Grubb (1).

² Cf. Nordenskiöld (13), plate 13.

286 the same colour on either side. Beside these six groups of stripes, there
 291 is a thin, greyish white stripe running along each of the longer edges of
 the mantle. The garment is woven in one piece. In the centre of the



Fig. 32. Choroti Indians. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

mantle there are figures sewn with reddish brown, woollen-yarn (fig. 34), probably property marks.¹

291 When engaged in work or pastimes, the Choroti men usually take off their mantles. In 'our' Choroti village we therefore always saw a large proportion of the men going about practically naked (figs. 16, 18 and 171).

¹ Cf. Nordenskiöld (13), p. 32.

- 296 Among the Choroti, I have only seen a very few individuals wearing
 291 the poncho, and the only specimen of this garment I succeeded in obtaining belonged to a half-grown youth. This poncho (fig. 35) consists of a woollen fabric, 160 cm long and 61 cm broad, in the middle of which there is a slit, 26.5 cm in length. The weaving consists of two-threaded, tightly spun yarn of greyish white (the natural colour of the wool) and red (now

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Fig. 33. Corner of man's mantle which is 204 cm long and 185 cm wide, of brownish-red wool, woven with groups of greyish-yellow stripes. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 1.

faded). Its ornamental design is formed by three broad, decorated strips, woven on double warp, so that on one side the pattern shows greyish white on red ground, and on the other side red, on greyish white ground.

The fabric between these strips is rep, with the wool of greyish white yarn. Whether this poncho is of Choroti weaving, one cannot be certain. Possibly it has been obtained by Choroti from their Ashluslay neighbours, seeing that similar garments are not uncommon among the latter.¹

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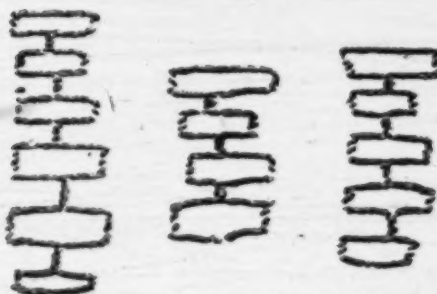


Fig. 34. Ornaments (probably property marks), placed in the middle of the mantle, a detail of which is seen in fig. 33. 1/4.

- 292 I frequently came across a kind of thick shirts, knitted from tightly spun
 714 caraguata-fibre threads (fig. 36), but I never saw them in use. In reply to my questions as to the reason for this, I was told that these garments are chiefly worn in fighting, when they are used as a protection against arrows. Caraguata shirts are also used by the Ashluslay and the Mataco,² but in the literature on those Indians I have found no reference as to their being used as a protection against arrows. The Chiriguano, however,

In the huts of the Choroti

¹ Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 111 and 112.

² Nordenskiöld (11), p. 107.

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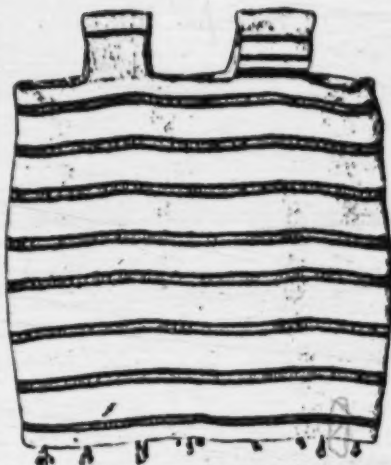
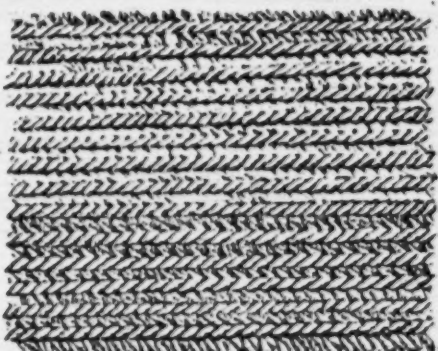


Fig. 36. Mail shirt, knitted of caraguatá string. Worn principally as a protection against arrows. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. *J. A. Riksm. 03. 3. 382.*

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Fig. 37. Enlarged detail of mail shirt, fig. 36. Natural size.

worn loosely hanging down (fig. 53). Frequently the hair is tied into a brush-like bunch at the nape of the neck (fig. 39). Woollen frontlets are generally furnished with simple, tasteful, ornamentation (figs. 39

It is worthy of note that the Choroti also manufacture another protective garment out of caraguatá, namely a sort of stockings. This footgear is put on for wading (in fishing), as a protection against the teeth of the terribly sharp-biting palometa fish.¹

To protect the legs from spiny plants, I have seen Choroti using a kind of long deerskin leggings, laced on with leather straps. The legging here reproduced in fig. 38, which has a height of 71 cm, reached well above the knee of its wearer. Some of the Choroti make use of sandals,² but I have myself never seen them worn by these Indians.

The men generally wear their hair of a medium length i. e., down to the shoulders, or the shoulder blades (figs. 16—18, 39 and 83) — but I have also seen Choroti with hair so long as almost to reach the waist. The hair is usually tied round with a woollen frontlet (fig. 39), or a frontlet of palm leaves (fig. 24), or birdskin (fig. 17), but it may also be

¹ Nordenskiöld (13), p. 110.

² Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 113, 114.

and 40). Miss Agnes Branting, who has kindly examined the textiles ²⁹¹ here reproduced, found the frontlet in fig. 40 especially interesting, as ³⁰² similar fillets are woven by the peasantry in very many provinces of Sweden, for instance Scania, Halland, Wermland and Helsingland. Miss Branting writes on this matter as follows: 'Fillets of this kind are made without any other implement than just any sort of object to which the yarn can be attached, say a weighted pincushion held on the knee. The weaving is begun from the centre of the fillet by crossing one yarn over another; for each turn a yarn is added (from a number fastened with pins) on either side. When the edge yarn has been reached, this is turned inwards, and the plaiting then proceeds from the edges towards the centre. This gives a certain firmness and compactness to the edges, and makes the middle portion slightly thinner, as may be noticed if looked at against the light.'

Sometimes the frontlets are decorated with snail-shell spangles, sewn on, although such pieces of magnificence as the frontlet here shown in fig. 41 are very rare. From fig. 42 can be seen the way this frontlet is meant to be worn. These very decorative snail-shell spangles are made from the shells of a large, white land snail (*Borus oblongus*, fig. 43), common in the Chaco. The Choroti do not themselves make these snail-shell spangles, but obtain them through barter from other tribes.

Narrow frontlets of woollen-yarn (see fig. 30: the 3rd and 4th men from the left) or birdskin (see figs. 17 and 30: the boy who is fifth from the left) are of very common occurrence; less frequently seen are frontlets made from palm leaves, some of which are provided with chin straps, so as not to slip easily off the head (fig. 4-1).

At dances and other festive occasions, the men are fond of wearing ²⁹² particularly handsome, broad frontlets or head ornaments of stiff or downy ³⁰²



Fig. 38. Legging, of deer-skin with yellowish-brown hair-covering remaining. Worn for protection against thorny plants. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/a. Mikm. 03. 3. 383.

¹ Compare with this a method of hand weaving described from the Choroti by Erik Nordenskiöld. Nordenskiöld (12), p. 111.

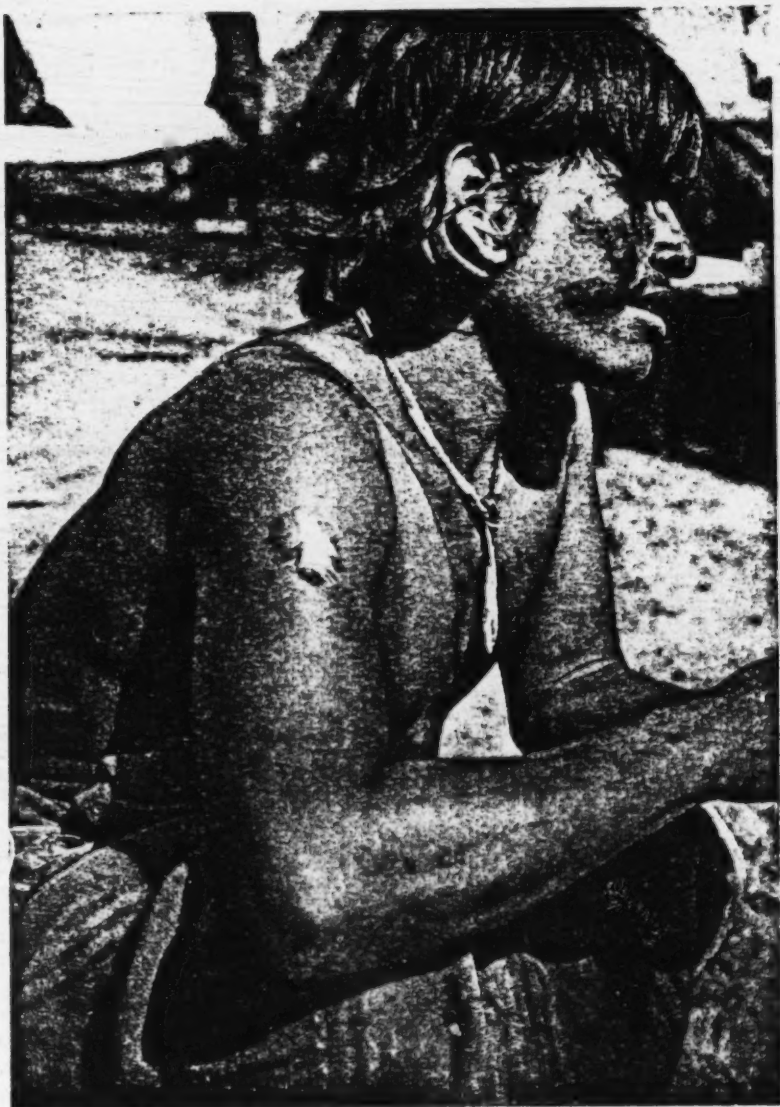


Fig. 53. A man with ear-lobe discs, set with pieces of tin. On his right upper arm is seen the scar from the terrible bite of a palometa fish (*Serrosalmo* sp.). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

291 The women of the Choroti, especially the younger ones, have very generally adopted the woman's garment common among the Chiriguano, which is called 'tipoy' and consists of a cloak-like covering hanging from the shoulders, where it is secured with cactus spines (fig. 62). The cloth forming the material of these tipoyas, is an acquisition by the Choroti from the whites. I saw Choroti girls that had not troubled to sew their tipoyas together, but thought it sufficient to pin the edges together with cactus spines down one side. Occasionally the girls wore the tipoy from the hips, as seen in fig. 61. The original garb of the Choroti women consists of a deer skin, or a length of home-woven woollen cloth wrapped round the hips (fig. 21), leaving bare the upper part of the body. Nowadays one only sees elderly women dressed in this way.

301 Contrasted with the men, the women have very few, and very unpretentious, ornaments. The girls wear a necklace or two, made from glass beads or porcelain buttons (fig. 61 and 62), and lizard-skin finger rings. Now and again one may see a woman with armlets, or finger rings, consisting of threaded glass beads, pieces of leather or palm leaf (fig. 62, the girl on the extreme right, and fig. 152).

302 The practice of decorating the face by tattooing and painting is common to both sexes. The men, however, are not always tattooed, which, on the other hand, is the case with the women. Painting of the face, which may safely be assumed to possess magic significance,¹ is performed by men as well as women on all important occasions.

304 Whilst it is the prerogative of the men to adorn themselves with the showier ornaments, it is generally the women who display the more abundant tattooing (cf. figs. 63-66 and 71-76). The tattoo marks that a fully grown Choroti woman wears on her face, have not been worked on her all at the same time, but during different phases of her life as she grows up. According to Nordenskiöld, the Choroti begin tattooing their children already when the latter have reached an age of from 5 to 7 years,² and thenceforth various designs are added as the years pass. As a rule, the men are not tattooed, or they may have just a few tattoo marks (fig. 63), and it is exceptional to see Choroti men as profusely tattooed as the men in figs. 64-66.³ As I have already pointed

¹ See Chap. XII.

² Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

³ Compare, with this for instance, Lehmann-Nitsche (1), pp. 80 and 81, and Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 69 and 70.

[text continues on p. 75]

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Fig. 62. Choroti girls with 'stipoyas' fastened over the shocklers with cactus spines. The necklaces are of glass beads. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.



Fig. 61. Choroti girls, wearing 'stipoyas' from the hips. The girl farthest on the left is wearing a necklace of porcelain buttons. The other necklaces consist of glass beads. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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302 bamboo holder, 10 to 15 cm long, and 1 to 2 cm in diameter. The bottom of this cylinder consists of a joint in the bamboo, and for its mouth there is a stopper of wool, grass, bast or bees-wax.

[291] In painting the face, the paint is put on with small stamps, which either consist of the jaw-bone of a siluroid (figs. 81, 88 b) or of a piece of carved wood (fig. 82).

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Fig. 81. Jaw-bone of a siluroid. The row of teeth is used as a stamp for putting on the paint in face-painting. The fore-end of the bone is sharpened to a point, so that this object can also be used in tattooing and blood-letting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. $\frac{1}{1}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 100.



Fig. 82. Paint stamp made of a cane splinter. Is used in the same way as the fish jaw in fig. 81. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. $\frac{1}{1}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 94.

Flat wooden stamps with diamond pattern are also used.¹ Those interesting stamps that are made from jaw-bones of fishes, are undoubtedly the prototype of the wooden stamps.

For cutting off the hair to the desired length (figs. 16—24, 30, 39, 53 and 83), the Choroti use the jaw of the palometa fish, which is set with exceedingly sharp teeth (fig. 84).² These are also used as louse-

combs, although the Choroti as a rule carry on their louse-hunting only by the means that nature has provided them with. It is possible that once upon a time palometa jaws formed the only combs that the Choroti possessed, but that they afterwards went out of fashion when the more practical wooden or split-cane combs came into use. Of the latter, we may take it that the split-cane combs are the



Fig. 83. A man with hair hanging loose. Choroti. Gran Chaco Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.



Fig. 84. Jaw of palometa fish (*Serrasalmu* sp.), used for hair-cutting. Also said to be a louse-comb. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. $\frac{1}{1}$. Riksm. 10. 3. 29.

¹ Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 42.

² Nordenskiöld (13), p. 100.

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Fig. 89. Woman taking lice from her husband's head. Choroti on their wandering towards the Pilcomayo, Dry-soil forest region between Caiza and Fort Crevaux, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 96. A man aiming with a bird arrow. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia.
Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 95. A man with bow and arrow. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia.
Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 151. A Choroti man producing fire by drilling. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 152. A Choroti girl who has put decayed tree stumps on top of the fire in order to preserve it until again needed. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. K.

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Fig 171. Men who are engaged in playing a gambling game called «chuke». The scoring is done by means of arrows stuck into small holes in the ground, usually arranged in the way seen in fig. 173. On account of the shadow thrown by the arrow nearest the foreground, the holes next to this arrow, although strongly sunlit, can be seen. The third arrow from the foreground is planted in the «river» (see page 173). From this picture, as from the diagram, fig. 173, will be seen that the row of holes at times may be laid out so as to form a curve or an obtuse angle.

Choroti. Gran Chaco Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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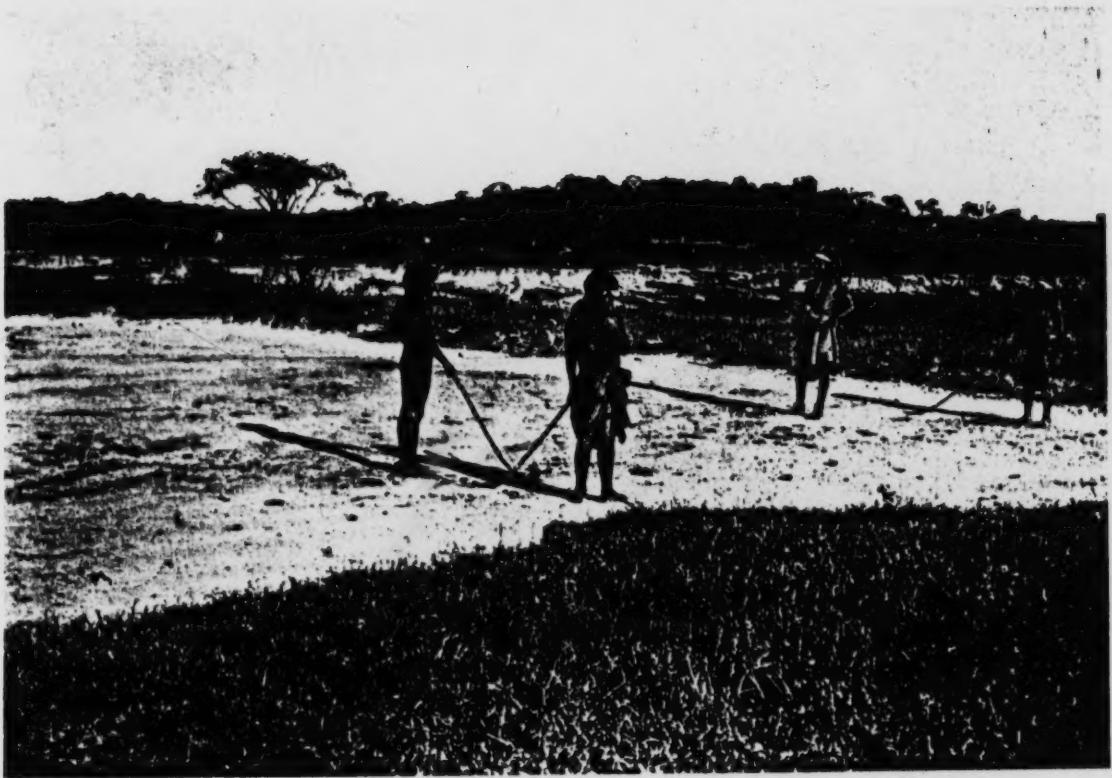


Fig. 177. Boys practising a ball game resembling hockey. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 179. A girl, and the lover she has chosen for herself. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 178. A chief, with his son and two of his three wives. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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XVI.

Dress.

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The men of the tribes here dealt with, wear, as a rule, big mantles or blankets of home-woven woollen material in which they wrap themselves. They sometimes wear leather sandals. They fasten the blanket with a girdle of leather or woven wool. Occasionally they wear very short shirts, sewn of Caraguata, and now and then woollen shirts. More rarely they wear a poncho. The younger Choroti and Mataco women have a kind of shirt made of textile material, which they get from the whites; the older women have a apron of similar material, or of woven cloth, round their loins. In the same way the Ashluslay women wear an apron of leather or home-woven wool. Occasionally the younger women have a short skirt, called a **tipoy**. The women, too, sometimes wear sandals. They do not fasten the apron round the loins by means of a girdle, but by a cord. Now and then the Ashluslay women have large four-cornered cloaks made of a number of coypou or sheep skins sewn together.

Fur cloaks (Map 15) are practical in the cold climate of the most southerly part of S. America and in the mountains. But they are not used in the Andes. In the Chaco, among the tribes I am dealing with, they were formerly in common use, but are now disappearing. This is owing to the fact that the coypou skins from which they are generally made are in great demand among the whites as an article of trade, so

that the Indians prefer to use them for barter rather than as an article of clothing. Woven cloaks have, moreover, displaced fur cloaks. Characteristically it is exclusively the conservative women in the Chaco who wear the fur cloak.

Fur cloaks are worn in the Chaco with the fur inside. The plain side of the skin is generally painted. Each skin is painted separately, and then a number are sewn together.

The Tehuelche also wear their cloaks with the fur inside. The Ona, however, wear them with the fur outside, and this tribe leaves the plain side unpainted.

I have seen these cloaks among the (6) Mataco, (2) Ashluslay and (7) Toba, where they are usually made of corypon skin, rarely of sheep or fox-skin. DOBRIZHOFFER¹⁾ mention them from the (17) Abipone, DUCCI²⁾ from the (9) Toba, SANCHEZ LABRADOR³⁾ from the (12) Mbayá, SCHMIDEL⁴⁾ from the (3V) Querandi, HAWTREY⁵⁾ and GRUBB⁶⁾ from the (8) Lengua, STADEN⁷⁾ from the southern (38) Tupinambá, ARAÚJO⁸⁾ following PERNETTY from the (44) Charrúa, SEPP⁹⁾ from the (04) Yaro-Chaná, FALKNER, MUSTERS, PIGAFETTA¹⁰⁾ and others from the (26) Patagonians, GALLARDO, COLAZZI, OTTO NORDENSKJÖLD and others from the (27) Ona, SKOTTSBERG¹¹⁾, MEDINA¹²⁾, HYADES and DENIKER¹³⁾ and other from the (XV) Yahgan, the (2V) Chono and the (IV) West Patagonians.

¹⁾ Vol. 2, p. 132.

²⁾ p. 10.

³⁾ Vol. 1, p. 280.

⁴⁾ p. 130.

⁵⁾ p. 282.

⁶⁾ p. 62.

⁷⁾ Vol. 2 (p. 3).

⁸⁾ p. 120.

⁹⁾ p. 30.

¹⁰⁾ p. 12-13.

¹¹⁾ p. 207.

¹²⁾ pp. 100-107.

¹³⁾ p. 317.

000 MEDINA¹⁾ from the (10) Araucanians (?). UHLER²⁾ found similar cloaks at (B) Arica.

The fur cloak belongs to the southern cultural elements which extend right up into the Chaco, and show that the original culture of the tribes living there is connected with that of the Patagonians and Fuegians.

As an every day garment the fur cloak is unpractical in the Chaco, which has a tropical climate and is infested with insects. But it is good to have when the cold winds sweep over the plains. DOBRIZHOFFER³⁾ says that among the Abipone the fur cloak is used by men and women alike when the weather is cold. *Old people of both sexes wore fur cloaks in the warmest weather.* They evidently cling to an old custom.

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• The commonest male dress among the Choroti and the Ashluslay is a large home-woven *woolen cloak*, in which they drape themselves in the same way as in their fur cloaks.

I found the woven cloak in use among the Chané, Choroti, Mataco, Toba, Ashluslay and Tapiete. HAWTREY⁴⁾ mentions it from the Lengua, FALKNER⁵⁾ from the tribes in Patagonia, except the «Tehuelhets» and «Chechehets», LUIS DE LA CRUZ⁶⁾ from the Peguénche, and DOBRIZHOFFER⁷⁾ from the Abipone.

000 In the mountains home-woven rugs were, and are still, used as beds. When used as a article of dress by the men, they always have a hole in the middle for putting the head through (Poncho).

The Aymara and Quichua women wear a shawl round the shoulders.

¹⁾ p. 104.

²⁾ p. 11.

³⁾ Vol. 2, p. 132.

⁴⁾ p. 282.

⁵⁾ p. 112.

⁶⁾ p. 33.

⁷⁾ Vol. 2, p. 129.

These cloaks are now made in the Chaco out of sheep's wool. We may therefore ask whether the custom of making and using these cloaks dates from post-Columbian times, or whether it is older, i. e. were they made of other material in pre-Columbian times? SCHMIDEL¹⁾ says that the Indians in the Chaco had llamas, which I consider not at all improbable, as it is known for certain that the Indians in N. Argentina had llamas as far south as Córdoba, and, as we shall see from the following, the Chaco Indians had connections with these Indians. It is certain that llama can live in the Chaco, as the guanaco, which is very closely allied to the llama, is found between the R. Parapiti and the R. Grande. It is therefore possible that in pre-Columbian times they had cloaks of llama wool. Still, it is probable that in pre-Columbian times more cotton was used than now for textile fabrics. SCHMIDEL speaks exclusively of cotton clothes. The Indians possibly weave more than they used to since sheep-rearing was taken up. It is certainly not the white men that taught them to weave.

The Tsirakua Indians in the Chaco Boreal have cloaks of Caraguatá.

It is not impossible that these cloaks once had a much wider distribution than now.

The *Poncho* is, as everybody knows, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle, through which the head is put. The poncho being sewn together at the sides, with an opening left for the arms, the result is a sleeveless shirt. To this sleeves can then be sewn. The poncho has certainly developed from the cloak, it being nothing but a cloak with a hole in the middle.

Apart from the cloak, the poncho and the shirt, the Indians throughout S. America have no native male garment which protects the body from cold and which covers the greater part of it. This slight variation in the cut of the

¹⁾ p. 218.

*The Distribution of the Shirt +
in the districts visited by me (See Map 16).*

	Reaching to the feet.	Used by the men.	Used by the women.	Material.
Ashluslay.				Caraguatá ¹⁾ .
Atsahuaca	+	+	---	Bark fabric ¹⁾
Baure.	+	+	+	Cotton.
Chacobo.	+	+	---	Bark fabric
Cháma	+	+	+	" ¹⁾
Chané	+	+	---	Cotton.
Chimane.	+	+	+	" ²⁾
Chiriguano.	+	+	---	"
Choroti.	---	+	---	Caraguatá
Guarayú (Guara- yos)	+	+	+	Cotton ²⁾
Guarayú (Pau- serna)	---	---	---	
Huanyam	+	+	+	Bark fabric
Huari	---	---	---	
Itonama.	+	+	+	Cotton.
Mataco	---	+	---	Caraguatá ³⁾ .
Siriono.	---	---	---	
Tambopata-Gua- rayo.	+	+	---	Bark fabric ¹⁾
Tapiete.	---	---	---	
Toba.	---	+	---	Caraguatá.
Tsirakua.	---	---	---	
Yaniaca.	+	+	---	Bark fabric ¹⁾
Yuracaré.	+	+	+	"

¹⁾ or cotton.²⁾ or fabric of bark.³⁾ or wool.

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Women.

Mitun¹⁾, Gualibo²⁾, Yururo³⁾, Aguaruna⁴⁾.

The poncho is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, Quichua, Aymara, and rarely by the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, Tapiete and Ashluslay. From books I have noted the poncho for the following tribes: Ijeu⁵⁾, Inca⁶⁾, Patagonians⁷⁾, Goajiro⁸⁾, Pegueneche⁹⁾, Araucanians¹⁰⁾, Coroado or Gaingang¹¹⁾, Rio Rio Grande do Sul, Guaná¹²⁾, Gran Chaco and Colorados¹³⁾ Ecuador (very small). Uhle¹⁴⁾ depicts ponchos of Indians or mestizos at Pasto in Columbia and Quito in Ecuador. DEBENEDETTI¹⁵⁾ found a poncho in a grave at San Juan. ROMAN¹⁶⁾ mentions ponchos from graves in Puna de Jujuy and Puna de Atacama.

It plainly follows from the distribution of the shirt and of the poncho that these cultural elements derive from the mountain culture of the Andes. It is remarkable that their distribution has not extended. The long, trying work required for weaving a shirt has, of course, been a hindrance to its spread. That shirt and the poncho have not driven the woollen cloaks from the Chaco is probably due to their serving at the same time as excellent rugs, and that it is espe-

¹⁾ CERVAX, p. 178.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 350.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 300.

⁴⁾ QUINTANILLA, p. 78.

⁵⁾ BOLINDER (1), p. 61.

⁶⁾ COHO, Vol. 4, p. 100.

⁷⁾ FALKNER, p. 114.

⁸⁾ PLEYTE, p. 246.

⁹⁾ LUIS DE LA CRUZ, p. 33.

¹⁰⁾ LATCHAM (1), p. 330.

¹¹⁾ TESCHAUER, p. 21.

¹²⁾ COMINGS, p. 305.

¹³⁾ RIVET (1), p. 100.

¹⁴⁾ (1) Vol. 2, Pl. 13.

¹⁵⁾ (1) p. 70.

¹⁶⁾ ROMAN, p. 503 and p. 753.

● A
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● 291 cially at night that the Indians there must protect them-
[513] selves against cold.

The real garb of the Indian woman among the Choroti, Mataco and Ashluslay consists, apart from the fur cloak mentioned above, of a *loin cloth*. It may be, as it often is among the Ashluslay, sewn together of several deer skins stripped of the hair, or it may consist of a piece of woollen cloth, as among the Choroti and Mataco. Occasionally the Ashluslay girls may be seen wearing a short skirt woven in one piece, a short «tipoy» (fig. 27).

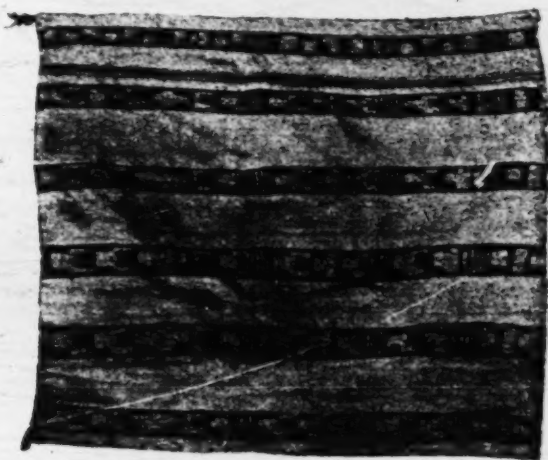


Fig. 27. Woman's garb of wool. «Tipoy». Ashluslay.

G. M. (A. 173) $\frac{1}{8}$.

The oldest of these is undoubtedly the fur garment. We find it, moreover, among the Lengua¹⁾. The garment of home woven woollen fabric was probably introduced, like the woven cloak, under the influence of the mountain culture.

000 We do not find the like among the tribes I visited in N.E. Bolivia and its environs.

¹⁾ GRUBB, p. 69.

the Indians who have still kept their original culture. The ⁸⁰⁰ Incas, too, did not patch, but darned their clothes¹⁾

As foot-gear the (1) Choroti (Fig. 29 a) and the (2) Ashluslay (Fig. 29 b), use, as we have mentioned, *sandals* (Map. ^A ^C 17). These are very practical in the hills, where the soil is ²⁹¹ stony, and in woods where there are many prickly plants. They are less serviceable in the tropical rainy woods, where they are always getting wet and soon become soft and rot.

In the parts visited by me, the following additional tribes wear sandals: (19) Aymara (5) Chané (4) Chiriguano (6) Mataco (18) Quichua (3) Tapiete (7) Toba and (9,3) Tsirakua.



Fig. 29. Sandal of leather. Choroti. G. M. (D. 1186). ¹/₂.

Among all these tribes the sandals are of leather, except among the Tsirakua, who occasionally have wooden ones. ⁸⁰⁰ These Indians also have a curious fastening to the sandal, differing from the usual kind²⁾. In the graves on the Peruv-

¹⁾ «Porque con ella y hilo de lo mismo que son los vestidos, las cosen y remiendan, porque no usan para remendar añadir parte de su paño sobre la rotura, como nosotros, sino que van zurciendo con un hilo de la misma lana lo que de la urdiembre se ha gastado.»

Como, vol. 4, p. 104.

²⁾ See «Indianerleben» fig. 138.

age of Herrera. The Spaniards must have thought them peculiar, since SIMON, who as a rule does not go into the details of ethnographical objects, describes them minutely. It was on the R. Orinoco that the Indians wore them. They must also have been in use in other parts than Venezuela and the Chaco, though not noticed there, since it is improbable that the Indians in the Chaco and in Venezuela should have independently hit upon the use of such stockings.

The Ashluslay and the Choroti wear *girdles*, now made of wool, now of leather.

The woven girdles in S. America belong to the westerly cultural elements. We find them in old graves on the Peruvian coast¹⁾. I have seen them among the Aymara, Quichua, Chiriguano, Chané, Mataco²⁾, Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, and Tapiete. They are known from the

cienagas con que se defendian de vnos peces que los Españoles llamaron Caribes por ser tan fieros, y atreuidos q̄ hasen presa en todo lo que topan dentro del agua: y assiendo destos nudos quando entrauan los Indios a pescar, quedaua libre la carne de sus vocas. SIMON, p. 224.

¹⁾ Uhle (2).

²⁾ The Mataco Indians occasionally dye the woven girdle in a way that is of anthropo-geographical interest. They use the 'tying round' method of dyeing, which is as follows: Those parts of the material that are to remain undyed, are firmly bound round, whereupon the material is dipped in the dye. The parts 'tied round' remain undyed (Fig. 30 a) This method was in use on the Peruvian coast, as well as in the Chaco. A piece of material dyed in this way was brought home by STOLPE (R. M.) It was presumably found at Ancon. The same method is known to the Quichua-Mestizos on Mt. Calilegua in N. Argentina, and has thus, as far as can be judged, reached the Chaco from the mountain culture.

Fig. 30.
Girdle coloured
by 'tying
round'-dye-
ing, Mataco.
R. M. (M. 50).

Araucanians¹⁾, Abipone²⁾, Ijea³⁾, Guajiro⁴⁾, Lengua⁵⁾, Caingná⁶⁾, the Indians in Quito, Riobamba and Angamarca, Ecuador, Popayan in Columbia and Chachapoyas in Peru⁷⁾. They are worn everywhere in conjunction with the dress, and for the most part only by the men.



Fig. 31 a. Leather girdle. Choroti.
G. M. (D. 1179). 1/7.



Fig. 31 b. Leather girdle.
Ashluslay. G. M. (C. 7). 1/7.

Leather girdles are to be found among the Mataco, Choroti (fig. 31a), Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Chiriguano and Chané.

These girdles are sometimes worn on the body, even when it is otherwise uncovered. Of the Chaco tribes here mentioned, at least the Choroti, Mataco and Ashluslay occasionally have fringed leather girdles covering the privy parts.

The Choroti and the Ashluslay (Fig. 31 b) sometimes wear a leather girdle round the chest.

¹⁾ OATES and BRUCH (5), fig. 98.

²⁾ DONKIZHOFFER, Vol. 2, p. 129.

³⁾ BOLINDER (4) p. 60.

⁴⁾ PLEYER, D. 245.

⁵⁾ HAWTREY, p. 283.

⁶⁾ OATES and BRUCH (5) p. 95.

⁷⁾ VILLE (1) Vol. 2, Pl. 11-12.

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Rafael Karsten.

(Tom IV

In subtropical land like the Chaco, where the weather is often very hot especially during the summer-times, dress is naturally of the most simple kind. Both among the Mataco, the Choroti, and the Tobas, the most important article of the man's clothing is a small cotton waist-cloth which serves as a covering and protection for the genitals. In addition to this waist-cloth the Mataco and the Choroti formerly wore a kind of broad fringed leather-belt round the loins, whereas the Tobas covered the genitals with a small apron of skin or stuff. The rest of the body is among all the tribes generally kept entirely naked or is only covered by the usual necklaces and other ornaments, or by red *urucú*-painting. When the weather is cold, and on festival occasions, the men also wear big woollen blankets with interwoven linear patterns mostly in red colour. The blankets of the Lenguas and other tribes in eastern Chaco often show designs denoting venomous snakes etc., but such patterns are unknown to the Choroti, and where they are found they have originally been obtained from the interior of the country. Weaving is among all Chaco tribes exclusively a work incumbent on the women.

The Choroti man adjusts his blanket in different ways. In cold or wet weather it is wrapped round the body so as to cover one or both shoulders; when it is hot, he allows it to fall in a double fold from his waist, where it is either fastened by a belt or by tucking the folds of one corner into the other.

The usual clothing of the women is a short cotton petticoat reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, the upper part of the body remaining unclothed. This petticoat formerly consisted of deer or nutria skins sewn together, but since the present-day Choroti are poor hunters such skin loin-clothes are now rarely seen. According to Mr. Hunt, young Choroti girls have nowadays adopted the female dress of the Chiriguano (Avas), a kind of sleeveless, waistless gown caught at the shoulders with a couple of safety pins and known under the name of *tipoy*. At the time when I travelled in the Chaco these *tipoy*s were only known to the women among the Bolivian Tobas, but not to the Choroti women, who always kept the upper part of their body uncovered and, in opposition to the Toba women, never showed any shame at displaying their bare breasts. A few necklaces, beads, or twisted feathers replace clothing on these nude parts of the body. Many of the personal ornaments of both men and women have the character of amulets or charms and will therefore be dealt with later on in connection with the religion of the natives.

Much the same may be said of the dress of the Mataco and the Tobas. Both of these tribes, and especially the Mataco, have been influenced

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913) 1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6

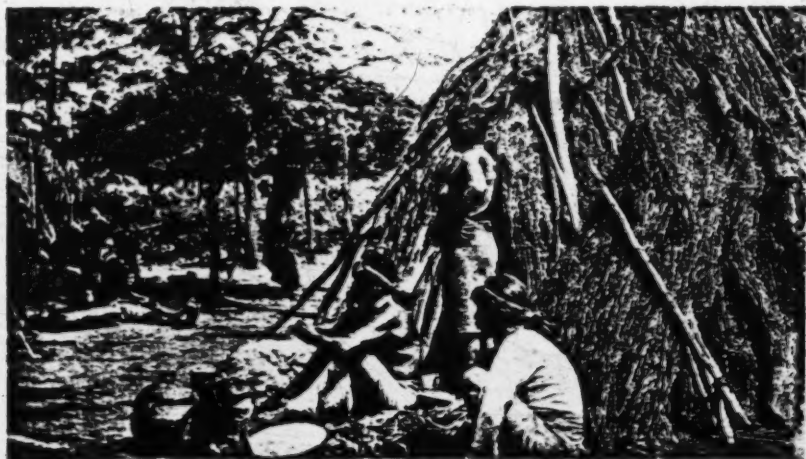
No 1) Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco.

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by the whites even in their dress, but those sub-tribes who still live in a state of nature keep the body almost wholly uncovered or only wear clothes consisting of animals' skins or cotton or woollen waist-clothes and mantles of their own make, just as is the case with the Choroti. The Catholic missionary Cardús, who visited the Tobas about fifty years ago, relates that the majority of the men used to go entirely naked, only wearing a small apron of skin or stuff. When they went out hunting or to battle they wore a jacket or a breast-plate of tiger's skin. Although nowadays the Tobas commonly use articles of clothing obtained from the whites, they are still frequently seen to go almost naked, only wearing a small waist-cloth, especially when the weather is hot or when they are working. The women, according to the same writer, used to have a small apron of fox deer, or tiger's skin tied at the waist, which reached down to the knees. The hairy side of the skin was turned inwards and the outside was painted in different colours and figures. Nowadays, as I have already mentioned, the dress of the Toba and the Mataco women in Bolivia is the *tipoy*, a sort of long gown or shirt made of red or some other brightly coloured stuff which covers the whole body leaving only the arms bare.

Both the Choroti and the Mataco men on certain occasions wear a kind of coarse shirt made of the fibres of the *caraguatá* plant (*Bromelia serra*). These shirts are mainly worn as a protection for the body against the thorny bushes when wandering in the forests, but also as armour in battle, since the arrows of the enemy are supposed not to penetrate these thick shirts. As a protection for the feet again the men, when hunting in the forest, sometimes wear a sort of sandal or leggings roughly made of deer or tapir hide. The head is always kept uncovered by the Chaco tribes or is only covered by ostrich plumes and the purely ornamental headgear which forms part and parcel of festive attire.

The houses of the Pilcomayo tribes are all of the same exceedingly primitive construction, or at any rate have originally been of the same type. They are round, conical, or beehive-shaped huts, constructed by a number of boughs of trees fixed in the ground in a circle and tied together at the upper ends. This erection is covered with rushes, grass, and palm-leaves down to the ground so as to form a rough thatch. A small opening is left for an entrance or door, which is so narrow that the inhabitants are obliged to enter the hut on all fours. The whole hut, varying from six to ten feet high in the centre, is too low to allow a man to stand erect, and the grass thatch so loose that the abode offers only a poor shelter



Choroti Indians outside their house.



The open space in the middle of the Choroti village, with
a drum placed to the left.

The woman in the middle has a leather strap tied round the chest as a sort
of charm against evil spirits.

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A Choroti settlement in the neighbourhood of Fort Guachalla. Angry dogs are the first to welcome the visitor.

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The old Choroti chief Atamo and his relations.
The scene to the right illustrates the Indian custom of louse-eating.

The *ear-tubes* which are worn as ornaments for instance by the Choroti, Ashluslay and Toba-Pilagá and which consist of wooden plugs or pieces of cane, sometimes of tremendous size, are likewise nothing but magical charms or amulets. This was clearly indicated by the Choroti, who told me that the ear-discs are worn to prevent the evil spirits, the *möhsek*, from penetrating into the ears. Their hugeness and peculiarity is evidently thought to act as a deterrent upon the spirits, and there seems to be the idea that the larger they are the more efficacious.

The Indians of the Pilcomayo use various kinds of *necklaces*, and it seems to be the rule that among the most primitive tribes, such as the Choroti and Ashluslay, they are more worn by men than by women, among the more civilized Tobas again more by women than by men. Speaking of the dress of the Choroti, I mentioned the large and costly kind of necklace consisting of snail's shells elaborately fashioned into small round buttons with a hole drilled in the centre and closely strung together. The necklace, called *lählehutsle* in the Choroti language, is not only an ornament but at the same time a magical charm. The Choroti no doubt gave me the true explanation of their original significance when they told me that the necklace is a protection against sickness. The evil spirits, according to the idea of these Indians, preferably attach themselves to the throat or the chest, because catarrhs are very common in the Chaco during the dry season. The spirits are believed to enter into the body through the throat or the breast, but this is prevented by the protecting necklace. Hence, when a Choroti Indian sells his necklace or leaves off wearing it, his comrades say that he will most certainly soon fall ill. The same idea I found prevailing among the Mataco-Noc-ténes of Bolivia, where such ornaments are worn by both sexes. Thus the son of a chief, who was just at the age of puberty, one day appeared painted red in the face with *urucú*, and with a large necklace which covered the neck and the breast. When I asked the father why his son had put on these things, he answered: "It is in order that he may not fall ill." Both among the Mataco and the Choroti it is customary that children of both sexes go totally naked up to the age of eight to ten years, but nearly always they wear collars and facial paintings which most certainly are not ornaments in the civilized sense of the word.

Among the South American Indians in general it is a common custom to tie round a limb, for instance the wrist or the leg, a leather strap or some other kind of band, professedly with a view to making the arm or the leg strong. The Chaco Indians also commonly wear such ligatures

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